

Fifty-five Letters
OF
George Washington
TO
BENJAMIN LINCOLN

1777-1799

Briefly Described, with Foreword,

BY
A. J. BOWDEN



THE LETTERS
THE PROPERTY OF AND FOR SALE
BY
GEORGE H. RICHMOND

358 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK

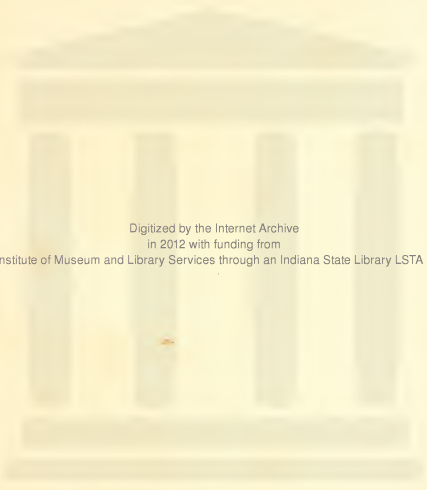
N. W. COR. 34TH STREET, CENTRE STORE

1907



**THE
WASHINGTON—LINCOLN
LETTERS**

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Philad^a 30th Dec^r 1781

My dear Sir,

You have enhanced
the value of the Trophies with
which Congress have been plea-
sed to honor me in their Ce-
lebration of the 29th of October, by
the polite and affectionate
manner of presenting them.

When I consider how
much I am indebted, for this
singular mark of public
esteem, to the exertions of the
General & indeed all the other
Officers who accompanied me
to that rich Field of Glory to
the allied arms, I feel a sen-
sation of gratitude which I
cannot express. — Believe
me sincere when I assure you
that I hold myself under very
particular obligations for
your able & friendly counsel
in the Cabinet & vigor in the
Field — I am with much truth

My dear Sir

Hon^{ble}

May Gen Lincoln

Sec^y of War.

Y^r very affect^d H^{ble}

G. Washington

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GEORGE H. RICHMOND

FOREWORD.

ONCE BEFORE the house of George H. Richmond was enabled to offer to the public a remarkable series of letters by General George Washington. That collection of epistles, written to George and James Clinton, numbered thirty-five, of which twenty-six had never been published.

A perusal of this catalogue will show the present collection to be both more extensive and of far greater historical importance. It is, also, of the greater interest, as containing a number of letters wholly in the handwriting of Washington, while the Clinton series did not contain one. When we add that these holograph letters in question include some of the longest and most interesting ever written by Washington and also that they have never been printed the point will at once be conceded.

My statement that the twenty-six Clinton letters "form an unpublished series of historic Revolutionary manuscripts such as may never be met with again," was made in good faith, and, judging from the discoveries of many previous years, was fully justified. How, then, to venture to prophesy as to the possibilities of the future? I am tempted to say this series now offered will

never be rivalled, but will be content to state that it has not been in the memory of the present generation.

In this catalogue I have appended to the description of each letter, whether it was written by the General himself or by an aide and merely signed by Washington. I have also noted if the letter is published or unpublished. Those which have been published will be found in Sparks's "Writings of George Washington," but in most cases subject to the remarkable conjurations of that remarkable Editor. In nearly every case where Sparks printed a letter he so altered it as to put almost as much Sparks as Washington into the manuscript. Here is one example of a letter from this collection. It is No. XXXIX in the catalogue:

SPARKS.

"The violent rains and consequent freshets have given such interruption to the stages in this part of the world, that your favor of the 15th ultimo did not reach my hands till Saturday last. I accede to the pecuniary allowance of two hundred dollars per annum required by Mr. Lear, in addition to the stipulations mentioned in my last, as a compensation for his services, and shall be glad to receive him into my

WASHINGTON.

"The violent rains, and consequent freshes, have given such interruption to the Stages in this part of the world, as to prevent your favor of the 15th ulto. getting to my hands till Saturday last.

I accede to the sum of Two hundred Dollars, in addition to the stipulations mentioned in my last, as compensation for Mr. Lear's Services a year; and shall be glad to receive him into my family

SPARKS.

family as soon as he can make it convenient to repair to it. At any rate, I shall be glad to know, as nearly as may be, when to expect him, that I may arrange matters accordingly. There can be little doubt of Mr. Lear's finding, by method and management, more than the time he speaks of for study; to facilitate, rather than impede which, would give me pleasure, as far as it can be made to comport with the purposes for which he is employed. With the greatest esteem and regard,

I am, &c."

WASHINGTON.

as soon as he can make it convenient to repair to it. At any rate I shall be glad to know, as nearly as may be, when to expect him, that I may arrange matters accordingly.—

There can be little doubt of Mr. Lear's obtaining, by Method and arrangement, more time than he speaks of for study—to facilitate, rather than retard w'ch, as far as it can be made to comport with the purposes for which he is employed, would give me pleasure. With the greatest esteem and regard I am
Dr. Sir

yr. Most Obedient and
Affect^e Servant."

While I am compelled to speak of such a letter as the above as "published" in this catalogue, that word no more justly describes it than if I said "unpublished." As a truth, it is neither! Many other examples could be quoted from this collection.

Calling those letters published which appear in Sparks's "Writings of George Washington," [or Ford] there are twenty-eight in this collection, leaving twenty-seven entirely unpublished.

Among these latter are two of paramount

historic value, which appear as Nos. XXXIV and XXXV. Together they include no less than twenty-two closely written large folio pages, entirely in the handwriting of General Washington. Even if these two letters had been printed, the possession of but one of them would add distinction to any library or collection; as it is, they form a superb monument of national history.

Add to these the numerous unpublished war letters; the letter in which Washington declares his unwillingness to accept the Presidency:

“I call Heaven to witness that this very act would be the greatest sacrifice of my personal feelings and wishes, that ever I have been called upon to make”

Then the letter acknowledging, in moving and affectionate terms, the presentation of the British colors captured at Yorktown, which is given as a frontispiece herein. (It is worth comparing, by the way, with Sparks’s version of this letter [No. XXXIII].) In two of the letters Washington severely takes Hancock to task for his indifference to important communications... Take almost any letter in this collection, and you will see that it is of importance; take the letters as a whole, they form a remarkable and unprinted story, epitomizing not only that of the Revolutionary war but that of the life—till almost its close—of the noble man by whom the war was successfully concluded. These letters should be published in

their entirety, and that should be the work of some patriotic collector who would prize possession of the originals. Far better this than the originals should be interned in some public library and made available only to a local few and those who could afford a journey to, and time for their study.

No more enduring monument for the gratitude of posterity could be achieved by a collector than the printing of these letters. It would endure when the much-heralded givers of bricks and mortar, coupled with an never-ending burden, will be banished from the memory of man or remembered only with just anger and resentment.

The cost would be but a trifle and the reward great. This takes no account of the ever-increasing commercial value of such material as these letters; and that is no mean asset.

I am obliged to Mr. Grenville Kane and Mr. W. R. Benjamin for their kindness in helping identify the handwritings of various of General Washington's Aides in this Collection.

THIS COLLECTION MAY BE SEEN AND PRICE
ASCERTAINED, ON APPLICATION TO

GEORGE H. RICHMOND,

358 Fifth Avenue, New York,

N. W. Corner 34th Street,

CENTRE STORE.

THE WASHINGTON LETTERS.

I

Head Quarters Morris Town 8th April 1777.

One page folio and with enclosure, being a copy of a letter sent to General Washington by Elias Boudinot, President of Congress and dated Philadelphia April 5th 1777. In all two pages folio.

Washington's letter is addressed to General Lincoln at Bound Brook. Boudinot's letter informs Washington that a woman "who had or was to get a pass from General Putnam under the Idea of her being a poor Woman and under a necessity of going into the City on account of her Son or Husband" was in reality a spy and must be stopped if possible.

Washington orders that Putnam be notified by express and that all women who try to pass the lines be stopped and examined. Letter and enclosure in the handwriting of TENCH TILGHMAN.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

II

Head Quarters Morristown April 19 1777. One page quarto, with address to Lincoln at Middle-Brook.

Orders given in connection with the concentration of his forces in New Jersey ready to move either on the North River or Philadelphia according to necessity.

“I have ordered General Heard to march the Militia assembled under his Command to this place. I am about making a new disposition of the forces You will send the 8th Pennsylvania Battallion commanded by Col. Broadhead to occupy the posts General Heard leaves,” etc. Letter in the hand of an Aide.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

III

Head Quarters Morris Town 20th April, 1777. One page folio with postscript of six lines on the reverse. In the hand of TENCH TILGHMAN.

Refers again to the ordering to Morris-Town of *General Heard. Goes into minute details of the condition of Lincoln's command and concludes:

“I have rec'd information that the Enemy have brought over some of their Boats to Brunswick and

* Nathaniel Heard, Colonel New Jersey Militia, November, 1775, to February, 1777. Brigadier General New Jersey Militia, 1st February, 1777, to close of the war.

that they are fixing them upon Carriages, pray Endeavor to get a person into the Town to know the truth of this and if it is so how soon they move." In the handwriting of an Aide.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

IV

*Head Quarters Morristown 27th April 1777.
Two pages quarto.*

A highly interesting letter asserting a belief that the pay of the troops has been misapplied by their own officers. In the hand of an aide, which in some points resembles Hamilton's, but I am not quite certain as to this.

"I am well convinced, that the amazing desertions, which have of late prevail'd among our troops, proceed entirely from their not being regularly paid. For it is not to be supposed, that the bare encouragement of receiving a few dollars from the enemy for their arms could operate so forcibly upon them. I have in vain endeavoured to make the officers bring in their pay-roll and draw their money; they plead in excuse, that, as they are so detached, they cannot possibly make up regular rolls, and there may be something in this. But there is a cause, which, I fear, will be found upon examination too true, and that is, that the officers have drawn large sums, under pretence of paying their men; but have been obliged, from extravagance and for other purposes, to appropriate this money to their own use. There is a necessity, at this time, for the men's being paid up as nearly as possible. I therefore desire, that you will have the different corps under your command paraded, inquire of them what pay is due to them,

order the pay-master or commanding officer to draw as much as will be necessary, and when it is drawn, see that the soldiers have their proportion.

It would be well to let the soldiers know, that this irregularity of pay has been owing to the hurry in which they have been detached into the field, but that their wants shall be fully supplied. I also desire, that you will inform the officers, that, as soon as the regiments are drawn together, I shall cause an exact scrutiny to be made into their accounts, and inquire how these complaints of the soldiers arise for want of pay, when large sums have been advanced for that purpose."

PRINTED BY SPARKS.

V

Head Quarters 15 Miles from Philadelphia 26th October 1777. Two pages folio, in the handwriting of COLONEL TENCH TILGHMAN.

Highly interesting letter. It was printed by Sparks under the erroneous date of October 25, and as merely from "Headquarters," giving no clue to where they were situated. Baker in his "Itinerary of General Washington" gives the place as Whitpain Township, where Washington arrived on the 21st and took up his headquarters at the home of James Morris. Curiously enough, Ford has not included this letter in his edition of Washington's writings.

As is more often the case than not, the version printed by Sparks has suffered from his peculiar editing. A portion follows:

"It gives me great pleasure to find by yours of the

20th, that you are likely to save your leg, and that you think you will be able to take the field in the spring, should there be occasion. I congratulate you upon the glorious termination of the campaign against General Burgoyne, which I hope in its consequences will free us from all our oppressors. Ever since the enemy got possession of Philadelphia, their whole attention has been paid to reducing the forts upon Delaware, and endeavouring to remove the chevaux-de-frise. After nearly a month's work they removed two of the lower chevaux-de-frise, thro' which opening six of their ships of war passed on the morning of the 22d, and began a most furious cannonade upon Fort Mifflin, and our ships and galleys at the upper Frise; but they were so warmly opposed, that they were obliged to Sheer off. In going down, a gun ship ran aground; she took fire and blew up. Our galleys overtook and destroyed a frigate. The remainder made the best of their way down. The day following, Count Donop, with about twelve hundred men, attempted to carry our fort at Red Bank on the Jersey shore by storm; he was repulsed, with the loss of about four hundred killed and wounded, among the latter the Count himself, who is a prisoner. Since this they have remained tolerably quiet by land and water. General Howe has withdrawn himself within his lines thrown round Philadelphia."

VI

Head Quarters Valley Forge Jany. 20th 1778.

Two pages folio, entirely in the hand of ALEXANDER HAMILTON, and marked by him "copy."

Valuable for the text. The reason for the presence of this "copy" in these papers will be found upon a perusal of Letter No. VII. For

some reason now unexplainable Sparks only printed about half of this letter. Among the interesting portions omitted is the following paragraph:

“The Enemy still remain in possession of Philadelphia and are secured by a strong chain of Redoubt with Intrenchments of Communication from Schuylkill to Delaware. We are posted on the West side of the former about Twenty miles from the City, and with pains and industry the Troops are tolerably well covered in Huts. We are to regret we are not more comfortably quartered but circumstances would not admit of it. Had we retired to the Towns in the interior parts of the state a large Tract of fertile Country would have been exposed to ravage and ruin and we should have distressed in a peculiar manner the virtuous Citizens from Philadelphia who had fled thither for refuge.”

PARTLY PUBLISHED BY SPARKS. NOT IN FORD.

VII

Valley Forge Feb. the 9th 1778 to GENERAL LINCOLN at Albany with Washington's frank on address. One page folio in the hand of ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Washington refers to the letter No. VI in this collection, which commenced:

“By the enclosed copies of two resolutions of Congress, you will perceive that they have restored General Arnold to the rank he claims in the line of general officers, and have directed me to grant him a commission for that purpose. This I have done, and he will receive it by the conveyance by which this goes.

From your peculiar situation, and being one of the officers within the operation of the resolves, I have been induced to communicate the matter to you."

The present letter commences:

"On the 20th ult. I did myself the pleasure of writing you by Colonel Marshall who was going to Boston to which place I had heard that you were gone. Lest my information on that head should have been wrong and you should still be at Albany I transmit you a copy of my letter of that date I am to request that you will as soon as your condition will admit, repair to this Army," etc.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

VIII

Colonel Brinckerhoff's Octo. 2 1778. Three pages quarto, in the hand of an Aide.

Valuable war letter. As Baker points out in his "Itinerary":

"When at Fishkill village (fifteen miles west of the Fredericksburg headquarters) Washington sometimes quartered at the house of Colonel John Brinckerhoff. The house which was built in 1738 is still standing. [1892] and remains unaltered. It is now in the possession of Alfred White. The house of Colonel Derrick Brinckerhoff (a nephew of the former) was also resorted to by Washington. This house still remains in the Brinckerhoff family."

Washington orders Lincoln, in conjunction with General McDougal, to repair the roads be-

tween Fredericksburg, New Milford, Woodberry and Waterbury to Farmington.

“This will facilitate our movement if we proceed to the Eastward The Enemy from last accounts were at the liberty-pole at the New Bridge near Hackensack I am credibly informed that a packet has just arrived. If this is the case and Sir Henry Clinton has been waiting for orders from ministry by which to govern his operations it is probable we shall soon be able to discover the part he means to take.”

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

IX

Colonel Brinckerhoff's Octo. 3, 1778. One page quarto, in the handwriting of an Aide.

Printed by Sparks with the postscript omitted and some slight damages.

“You will perceive, by the enclosed copy of a Resolution, which came to hand last night, that Congress have determined on measures for securing Charlestown, in case the enemy should form an expedition against it, and have appointed you to command there. I have nothing to add upon the subject, except my assurance that you will have, as you have had upon all occasions, my warmest wishes for your success and happiness. You will receive your instructions from Congress when you have an opportunity of seeing them.”

The postscript refers to Washington's letter of the previous day.

PARTLY PUBLISHED BY SPARKS. NOT IN FORD.

X

*Fredericksburg Oct. 9, 1778. One page folio,
ENTIRELY IN WASHINGTON'S WRITING, with address to General Lincoln at Philadelphia
"favored by Major Clarke."*

Washington's farewell letter to Lincoln upon his departure to assume the Southern command.

"I am sorry I happened to miss you yesterday I left a few introductory letters (for you to some of the first Gentlemen in Carolina) with Baron Kalb, and would now inclose you others to my friends in Virga if I knew what road you would take. But uncertain of this I have declined troubling you with more than one to Mrs. Washington who will be happy in seeing and shewing you every mark of esteem if you should go by the way of Alexandria.

I most sincerely wish you the most perfect recovery of your leg—a pleasant journey—and an agreeable and honorable command. I shall always be glad to hear from you," etc.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XI

*Head Quarters Middlebrook 15th March 1779.
Two pages folio in the handwriting of TENCH
TILGHMAN.*

Lincoln had evidently asked Washington's advice as to the conduct of the Southern campaign. The General replies:

"I am so utter a stranger to the Country in which you are that I cannot pretend to offer my opinion

upon the measures that ought or ought not to be pursued. Of this however I am confident that your Abilities and activity will accomplish whatever can be done.

The enemy have been entirely still in this quarter except making two small excursions one to Elizabeth Town to endeavour to surprise Gen. Maxwell—the other as far as Horseneck. They were disappointed in the former and retreated precipitately from the latter with the loss of 47 prisoners, some deserters and a few killed and wounded," etc.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XII

Head Quarters West Point July 30th 1779.

Three pages large folio, in the handwriting of
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

A letter of prime importance and in beautiful condition. After acknowledging with regret the news that Col. Laurens had been wounded the General sympathizes with Lincoln upon his difficulties in the South and his own inability to send him assistance. He continues:

"But you are not unacquainted with the insufficiency of our means every where and the States in general seem to have been for some time past in a profound sleep. They have been amusing themselves with idle dreams of peace and have scarcely made any exertions for the war. Till within a fortnight this Army has scarcely received a single recruit though a large part of it dissolved in the course of the last winter and spring The other day we were fortunate enough to strike a pretty important stroke

against one of the Posts they have established at Kings Ferry by which the garrison of six hundred men with fifteen pieces of artillery and a quantity of stores fell into our hands and what made it more agreeable at the expense of less than an hundred men.”

General Washington then tells of the destruction of the works at Stoney Point, and that but for an accident the American forces would have secured Verplanck's Point and so have been enabled to hold the former fort. He also notes that Lord Cornwallis had lately arrived from England and the news which has reached West Point from the South, including the defeat at Stono.

A SUPPERB WAR LETTER.
ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XIII

Head Quarters West Point Sept. 28, 1779. Five pages quarto, in the handwriting of ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Another splendid war letter, which Sparks has printed after his usual fashion, leaving out a sentence or adding a word as an improvement!

The letter is an unusually long one and occupies three and a half octavo pages in Sparks' book. The following is an extract from this letter and will indicate its very important character:

“I received your letter of the 8th of July, with that

pleasure which we always experience in hearing from those for whom we have a real esteem. The details you give me of your attack upon Stono Ferry are obliging and satisfactory; and 'though all was not done which you wished,' I have no doubt that the attempt had a good effect, and at least accelerated the retreat of the enemy. It did no discredit to our arms, even by *their* accounts.

I am chagrined at the delays, which the intended succours from Virginia have met with I hope, however, they may still arrive in time to be useful, and that you may not be disappointed in your other operations. Notwithstanding the embarrassed situation of the enemy, I am far from being satisfied that they will not make another and more vigorous effort to the southward this campaign. They have very powerful motives to it. The *full* possession of Georgia and the acquisition of South Carolina would be a good counterpoise to their losses in the Islands. It would give credit to their cause in Europe, favor negotiations in the winter, or help to gain friends for a further prosecution of the war. It would also open new sources of supplies, of which they now stand in need, both on the continent and in the West Indies, from the superiority in the English channel, which the junction of Spain must have produced, and the restraints it will impose upon exportations from England and Ireland. I see no better purpose to which they can apply their army in America. Inferior in naval force in the Islands, they cannot think of recovering those they have lost, or of acquiring others. To garrison and preserve the remainder seems to be all that they can reasonably have in view. If they make a detachment of four or five thousand men, in addition to the troops already there.''

MOSTLY PRINTED BY SPARKS AND FORD.

XIV

Headquarters West Point 26th Octo. 1779. Two pages folio in the handwriting of ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Another letter of great interest. Washington sends the letter by the hands of Lieut. Col. Ternant,* who is to take the office of Inspector in South Carolina and Georgia. The General adds:

“We are most anxiously waiting for accounts from the Southward having received no official intelligence from thence since the 7th of September which barely announced Count D’Estaing’s arrival upon the Coast. . . . The Enemy by their late movements seem apprehensive of a visit from the Count—on the 21st they evacuated their Posts at Kings Ferry and have fallen down to New York. I have not heard from Rhode Island since the 15th—they were then to every appearance preparing for an evacuation of that Post also.

General Sullivan has returned from the expedition against the Western Indians. He has been completely successful, having totally destroyed the country of the Six Nations with a very trifling loss on our side. Col. Broadhead has also returned to Fort Pitt from an expedition against the hostile tribes upon the Head of Alleghany river. He has also destroyed their country.”

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

* Jean Baptiste Ternant, a native of France, Lieutenant-Colonel and Inspector of the Continental Army; served with the Pulaski Legion; taken prisoner at Charleston May 12th, 1780, etc.

Head Quarters Morristown 27th February 1780.

Three page folio, written by an Aide, probably ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

This letter, while of great interest and value, has been repaired and mended. It is not in such choice condition as the balance of the collection, which is unusually fine. Sparks has printed this letter, omitting the preliminary paragraph. Mr. Ford prints it in full. A few extracts follow:

“I am extremely happy to find, both for the public and for your sake, that your prospects were less gloomy when you wrote your two last letters, than when you wrote the first. I hope you have had the time necessary to complete your defences on the land side, and will be able effectually to baffle every attempt of the enemy in your quarter. Hitherto our affairs to the southward have certainly been more prosperous than could have been expected from circumstances, and, if the issue is not favorable, I am thoroughly persuaded it will not be your fault. The succession of tempestuous weather, which immediately followed the departure of the fleet that sailed from New York the latter end of December, we have been flattering ourselves, will at least retard and disconcert their southern operation. We have yet had no distinct account of them; it will be fortunate indeed if they have been driven off and dispersed.

In addition to the advices you were obliging enough to communicate, I have just seen official accounts, from the governor of Havana, of the success of the Spaniards in the Floridas. If the remaining posts fall, it will be a very important stroke, and in all probability the operations there will have a favorable influence upon our affairs in your quarter. Though

perhaps it may not be probable, it is not impossible, that the British general, if he has discretionary power, on hearing of the progress of the Spaniards in the Floridas, may suspend his original plan and turn his attention that way, and endeavour to defend their own territories rather than attempt conquests. Don Juan de Miralles, the Spanish agent, in a letter communicating the foregoing intelligence, has the following paragraph This I transmit to you for your government, satisfied that you will do every thing to effect the diversion desired, which the situation of your force and that of the enemy, combined with other circumstances, will allow.

You will long since have been informed, that your intelligence with respect to the Virginia troops being detached to the southward was good. ”

XVI

Headquarters Morris Town April 28th 1780.

Two pages folio, in the handwriting of ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Lincoln has written of the probability of the fall of Charleston and the above is Washington's reply:

“The advices you give me greatly increase my anxiety for the fate of Charles Town and the State of South Carolina and you will believe that my solicitude is not unmixed with considerations of personal friendship. The loss of the bar is a very serious loss—I hope it may not be a fatal one. This consolation however offers itself that the honor of our Arms is safe in your hands and that if you must fall you will not fall without a vigorous struggle I am just informed that four days ago arrived at New York

Forty-one Transports from the Southward and that a further embarkation is preparing. I confess I am at a loss to interpret this circumstance The Garrison of New York cannot well afford to be reduced lower," etc., etc.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XVII

Head Quarters July 26th 1780. One page folio, in the handwriting of JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Washington's headquarters on the above date were at Preakness, New Jersey, about five miles northwest of the present city of Paterson. Mr. William Nelson of that city wrote an article upon the Preakness Headquarters, which will be found in the Magazine of American History, volume 3, page 490.

At the time the above letter was written Lincoln was a prisoner in the hands of the British, after the fall of Charleston. It serves to illustrate both the wisdom and justice which guided Washington in each decision he was called upon to make. A perusal of these letters to Lincoln will show without doubt the strong personal liking of Washington for Lincoln; but, in spite of this, the interests of the country came first, and the justice due to individuals was not to be set aside. The letter was printed by Sparks in his customary slovenly manner. Ford has omitted the letter entirely.

"I transmit you the enclosed letter from Sir Henry

Clinton, in answer to yours of the 5th instant. I am exceedingly sorry to find, that he seems to involve your Exchange with that of the southern army, & to make it depend upon it. At this time, for the reasons I mentioned to you, & others which will readily occur, an Exchange of privates could not possibly be gone into with the least degree of policy; and, under any circumstances of an extensive exchange, the release of the Officers on Long Island, who have been so long in captivity, must be first attended to. If you think a personal interview between you and Major-General Phillips may conduce in the smallest degree to your own liberation, I should be happy to promote it, as far as it can depend on me. Wishing you health and happiness.’’

PRINTED BY SPARKS, BUT, SHORT AS THE LETTER IS, WITH TEN VARIATIONS FROM THE ORIGINAL.

XVIII

Head Quarters Sept 10th 1780. Two pages folio, in the handwriting of ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Upon the subject of Lincoln’s exchange.

“By a letter I have received from Sir Henry Clinton, I find that the interview, which has been proposed between you and General Phillips, is to take place on the 19th of the month at Elizabethtown. I presume that Sir Henry Clinton has informed you of this by the letter I now transmit; and I need not add, that it will give me the highest pleasure, if you can effect your exchange, either for Major-General Phillips or Major-General de Riedesel.’’

PRINTED BY SPARKS AND FORD.

XIX

Head Quarters Passaic Falls 8th November 1780.

TWO PAGES FOLIO, ENTIRELY IN WASHINGTON'S WRITING.

Lincoln has been exchanged, and this is Washington's announcement of that fact to him. Sparks has printed the letter, but I find no less than seventeen corrections to make in his version of it!

“I have now the pleasure to congratulate you upon your exchange. The certificate of it will be transmitted to you by the Commissary of Prisoners. Majors Bailey and Jackson are also exchanged. I do not mean by this notice to hasten your return to the army, for that, alas! is upon the eve of its *annual* dissolution; consequently of the Enemy's advantages. I am of the opinion, that your influence and exertions in procuring the State's quota of Troops for the War, providing funds for the subsistence of them, and Magazines, will be of infinitely more importance in your own State this winter, than it can be to become a mere spectator, or fellow-sufferer of hunger & cold (from a scantiness of Provision and Clothing) which I expect the small remains of our Army will have to encounter in a very short time, and more than probably to contend with during the winter. But at the same time I give this as an opinion; I leave you at full liberty to pursue the bent of your inclination and judgment.”

PRINTED BY SPARKS, BUT NOT IN FORD.

XX

Head Quarters New Windsor Feby. 10th, 1781.

Four pages folio, in the handwriting of COLONEL HUMPHREYS.

A most interesting letter. Washington ac-

knowledges the receipt of three letters from Lincoln, but "The distractions in one part of the Army and distresses in the other have engaged me so far as to prevent my acknowledging them until the present time." He refers to the mutinies of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops, and the letter is eloquent of the harassing difficulties which surrounded him during the whole of the war:

"In addition to the perplexities occasioned in the first instance by the revolt of the Pennsylvania Line—the subsequent arrangements for quelling the Insurgents—the critical situation of our most important Posts on account of the scarcity of supplies of every kind—the danger of detaching from these slender Garrisons while River continued open—the preparation of the Enemy to take advantage of the Emergency the accumulated distresses of the Army for want of Money, Clothing and Provision, the impossibility of marching the troops however good their disposition, under these circumstances to suppress the mutiny—the uncertainty how far the defection might extend, if not checked in time, the necessity of hazarding everything, to effect this by force, should matters be carried to extremity and of calling forth or creating resources for the occasion—These and many other interesting objects of consideration had formed such a complication of difficulties and embarrassments as occupied every moment of my time and attention."

Then at length the General explains his acts to restore order and the injustice under which they had suffered which prompted the troops to mutiny.

A MAGNIFICENT LETTER.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXI

Head Quarters New Windsor 21st February 1781. Two pages folio, in the handwriting of an Aide, very much resembling that of ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Urges the immediate forwarding of fifteen hundred or two thousand recruits, also:

“I must sincerely congratulate you on Genl. Morgan’s brilliant success to the Southward. I have not heard whether it has occasioned any change in the disposition of the enemy. I am in hopes that it will, at least, retard any forward movement & give Genl. Greene what he is very much in need of, time to collect & organise a more respectable force,” etc., etc.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXII

Head Quarters New Windsor 27th February 1781. Two pages folio, in the handwriting of an Aide, also as the preceding letter, probably written by HAMILTON.

Upon the difficulty of getting men for the ship “Alliance,” news from the South and a disinclination to continue the pardoning of deserters. A fine war letter.

“I am glad to hear of Colonel Laurens’s departure. He wrote to me a few days before he sailed, and mentioned in the warmest manner your exertions to get the ship manned. The few Continental soldiers

you spared on the occasion were well bestowed, considering the importance of Colonel Laurens's mission.

Our last advices from General Greene are of the 31st of January. Lord Cornwallis, with twenty-five hundred men entirely divested of baggage, had made a push against General Morgan, and was near recovering the prisoners taken upon the 17th of January; but General Morgan got them off, and they had crossed the Yadkin on their way to Virginia. Lord Cornwallis was still advancing, and General Greene studiously avoiding an engagement, unless he could draw together a greater force of militia than he had much prospect of doing. I am very anxious for the issue of this manœuvre, which may be productive of the most important consequences. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee with his legion had surprised Georgetown. I have not many particulars. He took Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and several other officers prisoners, and killed a Major Irvine. A good many privates were killed; few taken. Our loss one killed, two wounded.

I have tried the efficacy of proclamations of pardon to deserters so often, and have found so little good resulting from them, that I am inclined to think desertion is rather encouraged than remedied by a frequent repetition of them. The soldier goes off, remains at home after a furlough, and looks for a proclamation as a thing of course."

PRINTED BY SPARKS AND FORD.

XXIII

*Head Quarters New Windsor 4th April 1781.
Three pages folio, in the handwriting of
TENCH TILGHMAN. A splendid war letter.*

"Every day convinces me, that the enemy are determined to bend their force against the southern

States, and that we must support them powerfully from this quarter, or they will be lost. Unless such support is given in time, it will be ineffectual. The enemy will not only have established themselves in posts, but in the affections of many of the people. The Pennsylvania line is already ordered to the southern army, and will march thither in detachments, as it is reassembled and recruited. I shall not hesitate immediately to order a further reinforcement, could I do it with prudence; but we are so extremely weak, not more than four hundred recruits from all the States having yet come in, about one hundred of whom are from Massachusetts, that, although the enemy have lately sent off another detachment of at least fifteen hundred men under the command of General Phillips, I do not think myself justifiable in doing it under present circumstances. But, that the measure may be adopted as early as possible, I must desire and call upon you, in the most positive manner to send forward every man from Massachusetts that you can collect. The urgency of the times requires that every exertion should be made to check the enemy in the rapidity of their progress to the southward.

You will have heard of the disappointment of the expedition against Arnold. General Greene has had a general engagement with Lord Cornwallis,* from which, though he suffered a defeat, he might ultimately derive advantages, had his Lordship no prospect of fresh succours. . . . General Greene's present force will not enable him to give any effectual opposition. He had two hundred and ninety out of his small body of Continental troops killed, wounded, and missing in the late action," etc.

PRINTED BY SPARKS AND FORD.

* Battle of Guilford Court House.

XXIV

Head Quarters New Windsor 11th May 1781.
One page folio, in the handwriting of TENCH
TILGHMAN.

“I am pleased to hear so flattering accounts of the prospects of obtaining men and some kinds of supplies; but so great are my apprehensions, on the score of provisions, that I am sending General Heath purposely to the eastern States to represent our distresses, and to endeavour to fix a plan for our regular supply in future. I refer you to him for particulars, which I do not choose to trust to paper. After General Heath has finished this business, his private affairs will detain him some time at home.”

PRINTED BY SPARKS, BUT NOT BY FORD.

XXV

Head Quarters near Peek's Kill 1st July 1781.
Seven pages quarto, in the handwriting of
TENCH TILGHMAN.

Instructions to Lincoln for the attack upon upper Manhattan. See also the letters of Washington to Clinton recently in my possession for much curious information about this long-planned but never accomplished movement.

“If complete success should attend the enterprise, not a moment should be lost in drawing the boats across the Island from the North River into Haerlem Creek, and securing them under the guns of Fort George, if circumstances will admit of it. But in case of a disappointment, and being obliged to retreat by

water, and not being able to pass the enemy's ships and boats, the dernier resort must be a push over to the Jersey shore, and an abandonment of the boats, if they cannot be drawn up the bank and carried off on carriages. It will be very essential, that I should be made acquainted as early as possible with your success, and the extent of it. If complete, you will announce it by the firing of thirteen cannon, at one minute's interval, after all less firing and confusion have ceased. If Fort George only is carried, six cannon are to be fired in the same manner. For Fort Knyphausen, Tryon, or both of them, you need not give a signal, because you are, as before directed, immediately to relinquish them."

The above is an extremely valuable historical document.

PRINTED BY SPARKS AND FORD.

XXVI

Heights of Tarrytown July 2nd 1781. One page quarto, in the handwriting of COLONEL HUMPHREYS.

A hurried despatch, Washington's signature being blurred and the whole paper showing signs of great haste.

"I have this moment received your favor and have only to express my wish that you will cross as soon as possible and take possession of the Heights of Kingsbridge so as to support the Duke de Lauzun & prevent the Enemy from attempting to cut him off by that way or to prevent their retreating if they are out. I shall be at Valentine's Hill in Mile Square by to-morrow morning if practicable."

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

Head Quarters at Dobbs' Ferry 6th August 1781. Three page folio, in the handwriting of
TENCH TILGHMAN.

An interesting document, in which Governor Hancock is complained of for absolute neglect of Washington.

“On perceiving that I should be under the necessity of drawing down the Continental troops from the State of New York I wrote upon the 25th of June to General Fellowes desiring that 600 militia (part of the quota required from the State of Massachusetts) might be marched from the Counties of Hampshire & Berkshire and those contignous to them to Albany I wrote at the same time to His Excellency Governor Hancock informing him of the steps I had taken, this liberty without consulting him, merely to save time.

I, in due time received an answer from General Fellowes acquainting me that he was out of office and informing me that no orders had been then received to embody the Militia tho' my requisitions to the State had been as early as the 24th of May from Weathersfield Having never had the honor of an answer to the several letters which I have written to Governor Hancock since the 24th of May I cannot undertake to say whether the necessary orders have been given," etc.

This letter amusingly illustrates Hancock's sense of his dignity and importance, better, perhaps, than the well-known story of his refusal to call first upon Washington, and it has never been published. That Washington was equal to the occasion may be seen by the conclusion of this letter, wherein orders are given to imme-

diately move the militia, whether Hancock had given orders or not.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXVIII

Chatham, this 28th day of August, 1781. Three pages folio, in the handwriting of COLONEL HUMPHREYS, except the concluding words, which are by WASHINGTON.

Direction for the march of Lincoln's command to Trenton, from whence Washington was leaving for Philadelphia and the South. Lincoln is ordered to form his troops into three Brigades, "till they are united with the Force in Virginia." Four o'clock in the morning was the hour appointed for setting out. The orders well illustrate Washington's consideration of every circumstance which might affect the welfare of the United States. He says:

"I foresee a difficulty which will arise from the Deficiency of Water Transportation from Trenton to Christiana Bridge—and that is—Now to opposition the Craft equally between the French Army & ours without occasioning delay—as the Vessels will come up as they are engaged and the American Troops, ought to be the Advance—some Delicacy must be used in effecting the latter without the appearance of selfishness & giving Umbrage to our Allies by taking more care of ourselves than them," etc.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXIX

Brunswick 29th August 1781. One page folio.

*In the handwriting of JONATHAN TRUMBULL,
and with frank by Washington.*

Tells Lincoln that he has just received from General Forman news of the arrival of eighteen large ships of war off Sandy Hook. This Washington conjectures to be the fleet of Admiral Hood from the West Indies, and promises to communicate at once any further or more definite news.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXX

*Philadelphia 31st Aug. 1781. Four pages folio,
in the handwriting of an Aide, with interlineations by WASHINGTON himself.*

Preparations for the march to Virginia. The most exact details are given, and Washington, re-reading the letter, has added with his own hand such additions as "The Troops are to cross at the Ferry."—"There is no better rout than by this City." The concluding paragraph says:

"You will please to use Every exertion for Dispatch in your movement as not a Moments Time is to be lost."

In ordering the stores to be forwarded by wagon, Washington has interlineated the words "under active officers."

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXXI

Philadelphia 31st August 1781. Two pages folio, in the handwriting of an Aide.

This letter, when read in connection with letter XXVIII, shows that Washington had thought, that he could better fix the delicate matter of securing the advance of the American troops by boat than Lincoln could. To use an expressive slang term, it looks as if Washington had "jollied" the French commander into the advisability of not using the boats. He says:

"Since my letter of this morning—upon consultation with Count Rochambeau I find him inclined to march the French Troops by Land from Trenton to Head of Elk—which will give a larger proportion of Craft for the American Troops."

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXXII

Mount Vernon 11th Sept 1781. Two pages quarto, in the handwriting of an Aide.

The General had reached Mount Vernon on the 9th of September, where he stayed till the 12th, then he proceeded upon his way to make the onslaught upon Cornwallis which was to practically end the war. The three days at Mount Vernon were not days of total relaxation, and the Commander-in-Chief kept, as usual, a vigilant eye upon the conduct of the operations

of the troops. After speaking of the scarcity of craft and the probability of a failure to embark the whole of Lincoln's troops at one time, he proposes an alternate plan, but cautions Lincoln :

“The time is fast slipping away—the most expeditious mode must be taken to bring our whole Point of operation.”

He also orders that—

“You will be pleased to keep me fully Informed by the Line of Expresses of every Interesting circumstance which takes place with you.”

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXXIII

Philadelphia 30th Dec. 1781. One page folio, entirely in GENERAL WASHINGTON'S handwriting.

Cornwallis surrendered upon the 19th of October, and Washington left upon his return to Mount Vernon. Upon that journey he was present at the death of John Parke Custis, only son of Martha Washington, which occurred at Eltham on the 5th of November. Custis succumbed to camp fever, acquired while serving the General as Aide in the siege of Yorktown. On the 12th Washington saw his mother at Fredericksburg, and arrived the following day at Mount Vernon. In a week he set forth upon his triumphal journey to Philadelphia to receive the thanks of Congress for his conduct

of the war. He reached Philadelphia, accompanied by Martha Washington, on the 26th of November, and, after answering an Address from Congress, went through a series of receptions and other public events, which culminated in the presentation to him of two stands of colors taken from the British at Yorktown.

General Lincoln had been deputed by Washington to receive the surrender of the British troops, and to General Lincoln Congress gave the honor of presenting his chief with the British colors.

The present letter is the acknowledgment of that presentation. It has been printed by Sparks, in his usual manner, with "improvements." These can be noted by a comparison of the letter as printed by Sparks, herein set forth, and a facsimile of it printed as a frontispiece to this pamphlet:

"PHILADELPHIA, 30 December, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,

You have enhanced the value of the trophies, with which Congress have been pleased to honor me in their resolve of the 29th of October, by the polite and affectionate manner of presenting them.* When I consider how much I am indebted, for this singular mark of public esteem, to the exertions of the generals, and indeed of all the other officers, who accompanied me to that field of glory to the allied armies, I feel a

* As secretary at war it devolved on General Lincoln to present to the Commander-in-chief two of the enemy's standards taken at Yorktown, which had been assigned to him by Congress."—SPARKS.

sensation of gratitude, which I cannot express. Believe me sincere when I assure you, that I hold myself under very particular obligations for your able and friendly counsel in the cabinet and vigor in the field. I am with truth, my dear Sir, your very affectionate humble servant.

PRINTED BY SPARKS, AS ABOVE STATED, BUT
OMITTED BY FORD.

XXXIV

*Philadelphia 20th Jany. 1782. Nine pages folio,
entirely in GENERAL WASHINGTON'S hand-
writing.*

If it was not for the next item in this catalogue, I should say this is the finest autograph letter of General Washington ever offered for sale. In interest and importance it is hard to judge between the two, the chief difference being that letter XXXV is longer.

The present letter (as, too, is the following item) is entirely unpublished, and, while this is a secondary consideration, it is in the finest possible condition.

While it might naturally be assumed the General would after the seven years' constant harassing public service seek and feel entitled to rest, such was not the case. The glorious success at Yorktown but spurred him on to further efforts. The extracts given below will serve to exhibit his great care in preparation for a further campaign, and Washington's long-

cherished hope for a successful attack on New York.

“Two things appear to me to be essentially necessary as the basis, and foundation of all the arrangements of the ensuing campaign—viz—Effectual measures for filling up the Army,—& certain prospects of being able to support it.

As the completion of our Battalions as early as possible is a matter of the utmost importance, and as the success of recruiting them will depend greatly on putting the business in a proper train of execution while the Legislatures are sitting; I take the liberty to ask whether it will not be the surest—spediest (*sic*) and best mode of transacting this business to send an officer of rank & reputation with the necessary returns & circular letters particularly, as the bulk of our recruits is expected from them.

It would I conceive, have a tendency to rouse the Legislatures to vigorous and decided measures should an officer of consideration wait upon them solely for the purpose above mentioned—instructed to point out in the most forcible manner the necessity of a prompt & faithful compliance with the *sitions*—to suggest many things that cannot be included in an official letter—and to urge that the Laws for recruiting be as definitive, explicit and efficacious as possible. The appearance of earnestness manifested in sending a Gentleman purposely on the business, will have considerable weight—exclusive of the emulation which he will probably excite between the State if he manages his matters with address—another advantage to be expected from the measure is, that we shall know with a degree of certainty what we have to depend upon.

The success of a similar plan for obtaining specific Supplies, particularly of Beef Cattle, the last campaign will be readily remembered.

Although the requisitions for money and supplies

are now properly within the province of the Superintendent of Finance yet the success of all our operations depend so much upon the exertions of the States in furnishing those articles, that it will not I think be improper for the same Gentleman who goes upon the business of Recruiting the army, to touch upon the subject of supplies also—I shall in a circular letter to the States strongly second the application of Congress, & of the Financier—Could the Financier give an assurance that the first production of the Taxes would be applied to the payment of the Troops, I doubt not it would have an influence upon the States, who are I believe pressingly importuned by both officers and men of their respective lines for pay.

We are to suppose that we shall obtain a sufficient army and find the means of supporting it—The other great preparations for the Campaign must therefore be made; for which purpose I have directed General Knox, and as soon as I see the Q'r master General I shall direct him also, to lay before you estimates of the wants of their respective departments.

A regular supply of cloathing, and that too in due season, is a matter of such immense importance, that I think it highly necessary to begin the preparations for what will be wanting the next Winter without a moments loss of time—and sure I am that if the Summer, cloathing, overalls in particular, is not immediately put in hand, it will not be ready by the first of May. One observation I cannot help making, because I have so severely felt its force That it is a mortifying thing to an officer to see a favorable opportunity for enterprise lost because the Troops which he commands are not in a condition to improve it.

The following are matters worthy of attention & which I beg leave to submit to you, and wish to be informed in.

What method will be taken to supply the army with provision while they are in the Field?

Admitting New York to be the primary object of the next campaign, but from inability or other causes we should be obliged to change our plan & turn our arms against Charles Town—How will the army be supplied in that case, especially with as much salt provision as will be necessary for the water transportation of it?

Supposing the States should fill their Battalions.

It is not time to determine how many and what kind of Teams (Oxen or Horse) we shall probably want.

Can the Q'r master General be enabled, and if so ought he not to be obliged to obtain a sufficient number of Artificers and Labourers.

Will it be good policy to issue a proclamation inviting all Deserters from the Continental army in the Service of the enemy to return to their colours? and would it not also be good policy in Congress to recommend to the States to pass acts of Grace in favor of such of their Subjects *in the Military Service* of the enemy as would return by a given time? It is thought this would operate powerfully in reducing their Provincial Corps."

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXXV

Newburgh April 25, 1782. Thirteen pages folio, entirely in GENERAL WASHINGTON'S handwriting.

If Letter XXXIV is not the finest letter of General Washington's ever offered for sale—this is. Lincoln had written the General upon the proposed assault upon New York in the ensuing campaign, and this is the General's reply. It is really astonishing that two letters of such

national importance as this and the preceding item described in these pages should have escaped publication.

“Your private letter of the 2nd Inst, came to my hands the 20th inst. by Doct’r Craik—I am much indebted to you for the sentiments & calculations contained in it. You have however, if my information, and estimation of the Enemys strength in New York is right, fallen a good deal short of *their* numbers—and if I may be allowed to ground an opinion upon present appearances, information and past experience—I should think you have greatly over rated *our* prospects. Consequently, that which seems to be a matter of no doubt in your mind constitutes all the difficulty in mine, in pointing the operations of the present campaign towards New York.

I am persuaded the Enemy have not, at this time, less than 9000 regular Troops in New York and its Dependencies, including their established Provencial Corps—and by a report from the Commandant of that place to Lord George Germain in the Winter of 1780, when they expected an attack from us—it appears that of City Militia Volunteer Companies, and some other small Corps which were named; exclusive of Marines Sailors & Delancys refugees, they had in arms, regularly organized for the defence of the Town 3390 men. These added to their regular force make a body of 12,390 independent of their Southern army; which I estimate at 4000 more; making altogether 16,390 besides Sailors & Marines. But as an augmentation of the force in New York is, as yet, only problematical, I will suppose that the Enemy do not mean to withdraw their Southern Garrisons and that no reinforcements will arrive from Europe, which is the most favourable point of view the matter can be placed in—we still have (besides Sailors & Marines which always will be more or less according to the number of Ships in the

Harbor) 12,390 men opposed to us, in works which are growing into consistency and strength every day.

You think, and I very readily concur with you in opinion, that the Besiegers *ought* to be at least three times the number of the Besieged Upon European principles, if New York was regularly fortified, we ought to have as 5 or 6, to 1. But I will set it at the lowest; and without demanding anything for Marines or Sailors, the number of men required will be 37.170.

Having shown the actual strength of the line, I shall next give the information on which my opinion of Recruits for it, is founded.

New Hampshire.

A Letter from Col'n Dearborn dated March 10th—says the Assembly at their last meeting had done nothing—that they were to meet again the 15th, that he fears it will be too late for them to do much—that there does not appear a disposition to great exertions—that the men in power despair of raising either *Men* or *Money* 'to any considerable amount' and therefore he fears, they will not take the matter up with as much spirit as he could wish—& concludes, if men can be had, he is convinced Mr. Morris will receive very little of the supplies, unless he will take it in specific articles.

Massachusetts-bay.

Your knowledge of matters in this State much exceeds mine—all the official information I have received from it has been through you—not one of my letters to the Governor has been acknowledged, nor do I know whether any of them ever got to hand, except the one which you speak of as having been laid before a Com'ee of the Assembly—one fact however is certain—and it is important—viz—of 2944 men returned to the State as its deficiency the Assembly voted *only* when

it must be obvious to every considerate mind, that these deficiencies increase daily—and in the nature of things must continually do so, while deaths & desertions are incident to armies.

Upon the whole, altho' I have not made up my mind fully upon the impracticability of attacking New York, I am inclined to believe that without the aid of 5 or 6000 French Troops in addition to those in Virginia we should find the Conquest of that place an arduous task—and that if the enemy can centre their force at it, it will be scarcely possible with such means as I expect to be possessed of. However as these thoughts are thrown together more for your animadversions upon them, than as expressions of my opinion, I shall be obliged to you for your remarks with the utmost freedom & candor, as it is from discussions of this sort the judgment is informed, and plans become properly matured."

XXXVI

Manuscript, without place or date. Endorsed by GENERAL LINCOLN: "Private Memorandum Genl. Washington." One page folio, entirely in WASHINGTON'S handwriting.

A severe arraignment of Congress for their injustice to the Army. The General says:

"Can these things fail to irritate?—and irritating are they not pregnant with mischief?—Is it policy? Should men who have endured more & received less of their pay than any other class of People in public Service have so little consideration or attention paid to their Interest & Comforts?

Would to God false policy—inattention—or something else, may not be productive of disagreements which may prove irreconcilable."

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXXVII

Head Quarters 5th of June 1782. One page folio, in the handwriting of an Aide, unsigned, but endorsed in GENERAL WASHINGTON'S handwriting: "To Majr. Gen^l Lincoln 5th June 1782."

"I take the liberty to send to your Care, under a flying seal, the inclosed Address of the Officers of the Army on the happy Event of the Birth of a Dauphin," etc.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXXVIII

Head Quarters Feby. 26th 1783. Two pages folio, in the handwriting of HUMPHREYS and marked "Private."

Privately in favor of the promotion of Major Villefranche, but declining to urge it publicly upon Congress.

"In the first place that Honble. Body might decide according to their own pleasure and in the second that I might not be harrassed with a multitude of useless & improper applications."

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXXIX

Mount Vernon April 10, 1786. Two pages quarto, entirely in WASHINGTON'S handwriting.

An interesting letter making final arrange-

ments to engage Tobias Lear as private secretary. As an example of Sparks's methods this letter, as written by Washington and as printed by Sparks, is printed in parallel columns in the preface to this pamphlet.

PARTLY PRINTED.

XL

Mount Vernon Feby 24th 1787. One page quarto, in the handwriting of TOBIAS LEAR. The signature of Washington cut off by Sparks.

It was a common habit of Jared Sparks, when applied to for an autograph of General Washington, to clip one from the first letter at his hand and send it to the applicant. The present letter is in reply to General Lincoln's son, who had informed Washington of his father's work in suppressing Shay's rebellion.

“General Lincoln's situation must have been very painful to be obliged to march against those men, whom he had heretofore looked upon as his fellow citizens and some of whom had, perhaps, been his Companions in the field but . . . his duty and patriotism must have got the better of every other consideration & led him with alacrity to support the Government.”

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

Mount Vernon 23rd March 1787. Three pages quarto, entirely in GENERAL WASHINGTON'S handwriting.

Upon the suppression of Shay's rebellion and political affairs.

“Ever since the disorders in your State began to grow serious, I have been particularly anxious to hear from that quarter. General Knox has from time to time transmitted to me the state of affairs as they came to his hands but nothing has given such full & satisfactory information as the particular detail of events which you have been so good as to favor me with . . . indeed the suppression of those tumults and insurrections, with so little bloodshed, is an event as happy as it was unexpected; it must have been peculiarly agreeable to you, being placed in so delicate and critical a situation.

I am extremely happy to find, that your sentiments upon the disfranchising act are such as they are. Upon my first seeing it, I formed an opinion perfectly coincident with yours, namely, that measures more generally lenient might have produced equally as good an effect, without entirely alienating the affections of the people from the government. As it now stands, it affects a large body of men. Some of them, perhaps, it deprives of the means of gaining a livelihood,” etc.

PRINTED BY SPARKS, WITH FEW ERRORS, AND
RE-PRINTED FROM SPARKS BY FORD.

Mount Vernon Jany 31st 1788. Three pages quarto, entirely in GENERAL WASHINGTON'S handwriting.

Upon the possible decisions of the Constitutional Convention in Massachusetts. Also refers in feeling terms to the illness of General Lincoln's son.

"I am very sorry to find there is likely to be so powerful an opposition to the adoption of the proposed plan of government with you; and I am entirely of your opinion, that the business of the convention should be conducted with moderation, candor, and fairness, which are not incompatible with firmness. Although, as you justly observe, the friends of the new system may bear down the opposition, yet they would never be able, by precipitate or violent measures, to soothe and reconcile their minds to the exercise of the government, which is a matter that ought as much as possible to be kept in view, and temper their proceedings.

* * * * *

What will be the fate of the constitution in this State is impossible to tell, at a period so far distant from the meeting of the convention. My private opinion of the matter, however, is, that it will certainly be adopted. There is no doubt but the decision of other States will have great influence here, particularly of one so respectable as Massachusetts."

PRINTED BY SPARKS.

XLIII

Mount Vernon Feb. 11th 1788. Two pages quarto, entirely in GENERAL WASHINGTON'S handwriting.

Condolences upon the death of Lincoln's son. In spite of Lincoln's bereavement he had informed Washington of the important events surrounding the meeting of the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts. Washington replies in part:

"It is unhappy, that a matter of such high importance cannot be discussed with that candor and moderation, which would throw light on the subject, and place its merits in a proper point of view. But in an assembly so large as your convention, and composed of such various and opposite characters, it is almost impossible but that some things will occur, which would rouse the passions of the most moderate man on earth. It is however to be hoped, that your final decision will be agreeable to the wishes of good men, and favorable to the constitution. Mrs. Washington thanks you for your kind remembrance of her, and joins me in the sincerest condolence for your loss," etc.

PRINTED BY SPARKS.

XLIV

Mount Vernon Feby. 29th 1788. Three pages quarto, entirely in GENERAL WASHINGTON'S handwriting.

Upon the adoption of the Constitution by the

State of Massachusetts. In speaking of his own state Washington says:

“There is not perhaps a man in Virginia less qualified than I am to say, from his own knowledge and observation, what will be the fate of the Constitution here; for I very seldom ride beyond the limits of my own farms, and am wholly indebted to those Gentlemen who visit me for any information of the disposition of the people towards it; but from all I can collect, I have not the smallest doubt of its being accepted.”

PRINTED BY SPARKS AND FORD.

XLV

Mount Vernon March 10th 1788. Two pages quarto, entirely in GENERAL WASHINGTON'S handwriting.

Washington is sorry to hear that the issue regarding the proposed Constitution is doubtful in New Hampshire. As regards Virginia he says:

“At the end of the present month we shall be able to form a tolerable judgment of what may be its fate here; as our returns for the Delegates to the Convention will be known at that time, and the characters chosen will be pretty generally decided in their opinions upon the matter before their Delegation, since that will determine the people in their choice. The general tenor of the Information, which I derive from those gentlemen who call upon me, seems to be, that the Opposition is losing ground, and that nothing is wanting to render the people so favorably disposed towards it, as to put the decision beyond a doubt, but

proper information upon the subject. The opponents are indefatigable in their exertions, while the friends to the Constitution seem to rest the issue upon the goodness of their cause. There will undoubtedly be a greater weight of abilities against the adoption in this Convention than in any other. We had a right to expect it from the characters, who first declared against it here; but, notwithstanding this, my own opinion is, as it has ever been, that it will be received," etc.

PRINTED BY SPARKS, AND A PORTION AS A FOOT-
NOTE BY FORD.

XLVI

Mount Vernon April 2d 1788. One page large folio, entirely in GENERAL WASHINGTON'S handwriting.

Regrets the adjournment of the New Hampshire Convention, which "has entirely baffled all calculation." In speaking of the western part of Virginia he says every art has been tried to defeat the proposed Constitution.

"Every art that could inflame the passions or touch the interests of men has been essayed.

The ignorant have been told that should the proposed Government obtain their lands would be taken from them and their property disposed of. And all ranks are informed that the prohibition of the Navigation of the Mississippi (their favourite object) will be a certain consequence," etc., etc.

UNPUBLISHED EXCEPT FOR A PORTION IN A FOOT-
NOTE.

Mount Vernon 2d May 1788. Three pages quarto, in the handwriting of TOBIAS LEAR.

Informs Lincoln of the adoption of the Constitution by Maryland.

“I can now with pleasure inform you, that the State of Maryland adopted the proposed constitution last Monday by a very great majority. This you will undoubtedly have announced by the public papers before this letter reaches you; but that State will not receive the sole benefit of its adoption; it will have a very considerable influence upon the decision in Virginia, for it has been strongly insisted upon by the opponents in the lower and back counties in this State, that Maryland would reject it by a large majority. The result being found so directly opposite to this assertion will operate very powerfully upon the sentiments of many, who were before undecided, and will tend to fix them in favor of the constitution. It will, if I am not misinformed, have this effect upon many, who are chosen to the convention, and who have depended in a great measure upon the determination of Maryland to confirm their opinion. But exclusive of this influence the most accurate returns of the members of the convention, with their sentiments annexed so far as they were known, gave a decided majority in favor of the constitution, and the prevailing opinion is, that it gains advocates daily.”

PRINTED BY SPARKS AND FORD.

Mount Vernon June 29th 1788. Three pages quarto, entirely in the handwriting of GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Long and valuable letter.

“No one can rejoice more than I do at every step the people of this great country take to preserve the Union, to establish good order and government, and to render the Nation happy at home and respectable abroad. No Country upon Earth ever had it more in its power to attain these blessings than United America. Wondrously strange, then, and much to be regretted indeed would it be, were we to neglect the means, and to depart from the road, which Providence has pointd out to us so plainly. I cannot believe it will ever come to pass. The great Governor of the universe has led us too long and too far on the road to happiness and glory, to forsake us in the midst of it. By folly and improper conduct, proceeding from a variety of causes, we may now and then get bewildered; but I hope and trust, that there is good sense and virtue enough left to recover the right path before we shall be entirely lost.

You will, before this letter can reach you, have heard of the ratification of the new government by this State. Our accounts from Richmond are, that the debates, through all the different stages of the business, though animated, have been conducted with great dignity and temper; that the final decision exhibited a solemn scene; and that there is reason to expect a perfect acquiescence thereto by the minority. Mr. Henry, the great leader of it, has signified, that, though he can never be reconciled to the Constitution in its present form, and shall give it every *constitutional* opposition in his power, yet he will submit to it

peaceably, as he thinks every good citizen ought to do when it is in exercise, and that he will, both by precept and example, inculcate this doctrine.”

PRINTED BY SPARKS WITH “IMPROVEMENTS”
AND OMISSIONS, AND COPIED BY FORD.

XLIX

Mount Vernon August 28th 1788. Two pages quarto, entirely in GENERAL WASHINGTON’S hand.

A splendid letter.

“I received with your letter of the 9th instant, one from Mr. Minot, and also his *History of the Insurrections in Massachusetts*. The work seems to be executed with ingenuity, as well as to be calculated to place facts in a true point of light, obviate the prejudices of those, who were unacquainted with the circumstances, and answer good purposes in respect to our government in general. I have returned him my thanks for his present by this conveyance.

The public appears to be anxiously waiting for the decision of Congress respecting the *place* for convening the National Assembly under the new government, and the ordinance for its organization. Methinks it is a great misfortune, that local interests should involve themselves with federal concerns at this moment.

So far as I am able to learn, federal principles are gaining ground considerably. The declaration of some of the most respectable characters in this State (I mean of those who were opposed to the government) is now explicit, that they will give the Constitution (as it has been fairly discussed) a fair chance by affording it all the support in their power. Even in Pennsylvania, the minority, who were more violent than in any other

place, say they will only seek for amendments in the mode pointed out by the Constitution itself.

I will, however, just mention by way of *caveat*, there are suggestions, that attempts will be made to procure the election of a number of antifederal characters to the first Congress, in order to embarrass the Wheels of government, and produce premature alterations in the Constitution. How far these hints, which have come through different channels, may be well or ill-founded, I know not; but it will be advisable, I should think, for the federalists to be on their guard," etc., etc.

PRINTED BY SPARKS, WITH "CORRECTIONS,"
AND COPIED SO BY FORD.

L

Mount Vernon Oct. 26th 1788. Five pages quarto, entirely in GENERAL WASHINGTON'S handwriting.

A most valuable letter, in beautiful condition. Upon the danger of the possible election of antifederalists to Congress and the possible election of Washington to the Presidency.

"Mr. Patrick Henry, Mr. R. H. Lee, and Mr. Madison are talked of for the senate. Perhaps as much opposition, or, in other words, as great an effort for early amendments, is to be apprehended from this State as from any but New York. The constant report is, that North Carolina will soon accede to the new Union. A new Assembly is just elected in Maryland, in which it is asserted the number of federalists greatly

predominates; and, that being the case, we may look for favorable appointments, in spite of the rancor and activity of a few discontented and, I may say, apparently unprincipled men.

I would willingly pass over in silence that part of your letter in which you mention the persons, who are candidates for the two first offices in the Executive, if I did not fear the omission might seem to betray a want of confidence. Motives of delicacy have prevented me hitherto from conversing or writing upon this subject, whenever I could avoid it with decency. I may, however, with great sincerity, and I believe without offending against modesty or propriety, say to *you*, that I most heartily wish the choice to which you allude might not fall upon me; and that, if it should, I must reserve to myself the right of making up my final decision at the last moment, when it can be no longer postponed when all the circumstances can be brought into one view, and when the expediency or inexpediency of a *refusal* can be more judiciously determined than at present. But be assured, my dear Sir, if from any inducement I shall be persuaded ultimately to accept, it will not be (so far as I know my own heart) from any of a private or personal nature. Every personal consideration conspires to rivet me (if I may use the expression) to retirement. At my time of life, and under my circumstance,s nothing in this world can ever draw me from it, unless it be a *conviction* that the partiality of my countrymen had made my services absolutely necessary, joined to a *fear* that my refusal might induce a belief that I preferred the conservation of my own reputation and private ease to the good of my country. After all, if I should conceive myself in a manner constrained to accept, I call Heaven to witness, that this very act would be the greatest sacrifice of my personal feelings and wishes, that ever I have been called upon to make. It would be to forego repose and domestic enjoyment, for

trouble, perhaps for public obloquy; for I should consider myself as entering upon an unexplored field, enveloped on every side with clouds and darkness.”

PRINTED BY SPARKS, WITH ERRORS COPIED BY
FORD.

LI

*Mount Vernon Nov 14th 1788. Two pages folio,
entirely in the handwriting of GENERAL WASH-
INGTON.*

Important epistle.

“Your letter of the 25th of last month, accompanying the political letters of Mr. Adams, came safely to hand, and I have to acknowledge my obligations for both those favors.

There is good sense in the answers given by Mr. Adams to the questions of Mr. Kalkoen, combined with an extensive knowledge of the interests and resources of this country. If there be in some instances an exaggeration of our force, it is not a matter of wonder; but the tenor of the whole performance rather affords a subject for admiration, that so much accuracy should have been discovered in representations mostly drawn from recollection. Indeed, I was very much pleased with the perusal, and doubt not but the work must have been well calculated to answer the good purposes for which it was intended.

I wrote to you on the 26th of October pretty fully, and therefore shall be more concise at present. Our Assembly, according to different reports, has proved itself to be, as was apprehended, very much under the influence of Mr. Henry. The choice of delegates for the Senate in Congress has fallen upon two gentlemen, who are considered to be rather opposed to the

new constitution, namely, Richard Henry Lee, and Colonel Grayson. But notwithstanding they have been both of them solicitous to obtain previous amendments, Colonel Henry Lee told me lately, that Mr. R H. Lee had declared to him a few days since, that he wished to see the government fairly carried into execution," etc., etc.

PRINTED BY SPARKS, AND REFERRED TO IN FOOT-NOTE BY FORD.

LII

Mount Vernon Jany 31st 1789. Two pages quarto, entirely in the handwriting of GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Receives the news of the first Federal election in Massachusetts.

“Your two letters of December 20th and January 4th are before me. I am much obliged to you for the intelligence contained in them, because it enabled me to contradict a report in circulation among the anti-federalists, that your State had made choice of only one representative to Congress, that no more would probably be appointed, and that every thing was in very great confusion. Though facts will ultimately become known, yet much mischief to the federal cause may be done by suffering misrepresentation to pass unnoticed or unrefuted. Last winter the antifederalists in Philadelphia published, ‘that Connecticut had been surprised into an adoption of the constitution, while a great majority of the freemen were opposed to it.’ Now it is certain, nothing can fix the stigma of falsehood upon that assertion better than the late respectable appointments in that State,” etc., etc.

PRINTED BY SPARKS AND FORD.

LIII

Mount Vernon March 11th 1789. Two pages quarto, entirely in the handwriting of GENERAL WASHINGTON.

In answer to an offer by Lincoln to serve the new Government in an official capacity.

The following extract will show Washington's attitude:

“Should it become inevitably necessary for me to go into the chair of government, I have determined to go free from all positive engagements of every nature whatsoever. This is the answer I have already given to a multiplicity of applications; and I have assigned, as the true reason of my conduct, the predominant desire I had of being at liberty to act with a sole reference to justice and the public good. But without deviating from that line of proceeding, which I had chalked out for myself, I may be permitted to say to you, my dear Sir, that you need not doubt my inclinations are very sincere and very strong to serve you, if I can do it consistently with my duty to the public. This I say, because I have known you in public life; for I do not intend to be swayed in the disposal of places, by motives arising from the ties of friendship or blood.”

PRINTED BY SPARKS, BUT OMITTED BY FORD.

LIV

New York August 11th 1789. Two pages folio, in the handwriting of TOBIAS LEAR.

A letter informing General Lincoln there is to

be a treaty held between the Indians and the State of Georgia.

“It is necessary in a matter of such importance to this Country that these Commissioners should be persons who have been known in public life and who are very respectable Characters—and if to these two circumstances could be added their being held in high estimation in the Southern States without being inhabitants of any of them it would be a very desirable thing. Under these circumstances it is my wish that you should be one of these Commsisioners,” etc.

PUBLISHED BY FORD, WHO GIVES A LONG ACCOUNT OF THE FAMOUS INDIAN ADVISER, ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY, MENTIONED BY WASHINGTON IN THE ABOVE LETTER.

LV

Mount Vernon March 17th 1799. Two pages quarto, entirely in GENERAL WASHINGTON'S handwriting.

“I have been induced (inconvenient as it is to my Finances) to build two houses in the Federal City—near the Capital to accomodate a person who means to lay himself out for the accomodation of the Members of Congress, when that body shall have removed to the permanent Seat of the Government.”

Further, the General asks that Lincoln procure him 570 panes of glass of various specified sizes for these houses, as “it may be had of the best kind and cheap from the Manufactory of this Article in or near Boston.”

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